

Message Text

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ACTION NEA-12

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 EA-11 ADP-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-02

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15

USIA-12 IO-13 OMB-01 ACDA-19 NIC-01 AID-20 RSR-01

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R 101800Z JUL 73

FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5479

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

INFO AMEMBASSY COLOMBO

JDMJDK/AMEMBASSY DACCA 2573

AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMCONSUL BOMBAY

AMCONSUL CALCUTTA

AMCONSII HONG KONG

AMCONSUL MADRAS

C O N F I D E N T I A L NEW DELHI 8040

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, IN, UR, US

SUBJ: SOVIET AND CPI ATTITUDES ON INDO-US RELATIONS

SUMMARY. IN A RESOLUTION ON THE US-SOVIET SUMMIT, THE MOSCOW-LINE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (CPI) PHAS CALLED ON INDIA TO INTENSIFY ITS STRUGGLE AGAINST US IMPERIALISM IN THE NEW WORLD ENVIRONMENT. THIS LINE IS CONSISTENT WITH THE CPI'S STRONG OPPOSITION TO ANY INDIAN DETENTE WITH THE US. IT IS A LINE ON WHICH SOVIET DIPLOMATS HERE HAVE BEEN UNWILLING TO COMMENT TO US. ACTION REQUESTED: WE WOULD APPRECIATE AN ASSESSMENT FROM THE DEPARTMENT OR EMBASSY MOSCOW ON HOW THE SOVIAFS AND SOVIET-SPONSORED PARTIES STAND WORLDWIDE ON THIRD-COUNTRY RELATIONS WITH THE US. IS INDIA THE NORM OR AN EXCEPTION? END SUMMARY.

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1. DURING THE PAST FEW MONTHS, INDIA'S MOSCOW-LINE COMMUNISTS HAVE COME DOWN HARD AGAINST ANY INDIAN DETENTE WITH THE US. EVEN A CIVIL TONE BY GOVERNMENT LEADERS TOWARD THIS, HAS BEEN ENOUGH TO SET OFF CPI ATTACKS.

2. IN A LONG PRIVATE CONVERSATION IN APRIL, CPI SPOKESMAN BHUPESH GUPTA MADE CLEAR TO ME AND MRS.

Q. GANDHI HIS OPPOSITION TO BETTER RELATIONS WITH THE U.S. IN MAY, THE SOVIET-ASSISTED CPI PRESS WAS SHARPLY CRITICAL OF MRS. GANDHI FOR TURNING OFF CONGRESS PARTY CHAIRMAN SHARMA'S ATTACKS ON THE CIA AND US SUBVERSION; IT HAS CONTINUED TO ATTACK HER FOR THIS UP TO THE PRESENT. CPI ORGANS HAVE CRITICIZED AMBASSADOR T.N. KAUL AS WELL FOR HIS CONCILIATORY REMARKS IN WASHINGTON.

3. IN A SERIES OF ARTICLES IN JUNE, BHUPESH GUPTA LASHED OUT AT THE ARGUMENT THAT IMPROVED US-SOVIET RELATIONS MEANT THAT INDIA SHOULD ALSO IMPROVE ITS TIES WITH THE US OR THAT THE US HAS BECOME ANY LESS

A DANGER AND THREAT TO INDIA. IN A RESOLUTION ON THE US-SOVIET SUMMIT ADOPTED AT ITS JULY 1-4 SESSION THE CPI CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE READILY ENDORSED THIS LINE.

4. THE CPI RESOLUTION ARGUES THAT IMPROVED US-SOVIET RELATIONS PROVIDE AN ENVIRONMENT IN WHICH ALL PEOPLES SHOULD UNITE THEIR FORCES TO "WAGE UNREMITTING STRUGGLES AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND ALL FORMS OF EXPLOITATION". IT ARGUES THAT THIS DEVELOPMENT WAS A GREAT SETBACK FOR THE US AND THAT THERE SHOULD "NOT BE THE SLIGHTEST SLACK-ENING IN VIGILANCE AND STRUGGLE AGAINST US IMPERIALISM". CITING THE ARMING OF IRAN, DIEGO GARCIA, CENTO, AND THE "INTENSIFIED SUBVERSIVE INTRIGUES INSIDE THE COUNTRY" AS "GRIM WARNING OF THE MENACE US IMPERIALISM REPRESENTS TO OUR PEOPLE AND NATION", THE RESOLUTION CALLS FOR FURTHER EFFORTS TO STRENGTHEN INDO-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP AND FURTHER SHARPENING OF THE STRUGGLE AGAINST US IMPERIALISM.

5. SOVIET DIPLOMATS HERE HAVE DODGED AND WEAVERED WHEN ASKED ABOUT THE CPI LINE. ON JULY 9, THE POLITICAL COUNSELOR PUT THE PROBLEM MOST DIRECTLY TO HIS SOVIET COUNTERPART EMILIANOV; DOES THE USSR SUP-CONFIDENTIAL

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CPI VIEW THAT IT IS NOT IN THE INTEREST OF INDIA TO IMPROVE BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH THE US AND MOVE IN THE DIRECTION OF INDIA TO A DETENTE? IS IT CONSISTENT WITH THE SPIRIT OF THE SUMMIT TALKS FOR THE SOVIET UNION TO ENDORSE THE VIEW THAT THIRD COUNTRIES SHOULD NOT IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH THE US?

6. EMELIANOV WAS UNCOMFORTABLE. HE PROTESTED THAT HE WAS A DIPLOMAT AND NOT A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE CPSU RESPONSIBLE FOR IN-

TERNAL DEALINGS WITH THE CPI: IT WOULD NOT BE PROPER FOR HIM TO COMMENT ON THE VIEWS OF AN INDIAN POLITICAL PARTY: AT ONE POINT HE SAID IT WAS THE SOVIET VIEW THAT OTHER COUNTRIES SHOULD ACT IN A MANNER CONSISTENT WITH THE SPIRIT OF THE US-SOVIET COMMUNIQUE AND DISCUSSIONS. BUT AT NO POINT DID HE EXPRESS ANY DISAGREEMENT WITH THE CPI LINE, INDICATE ANY SOVIET EMBASSY RESERVATIONS ABOUT THE CPI LINE, OR ENDORSE IMPROVED INDO-US RELATIONS.

7. SOVIET EMBASSY PUBLICATIONS HAVE PLAYED UP THE SUMMIT WITH REASSURING REMARKS FOR INDIA AND THE THIRD-WORLD BUT WITH NO ANTI-US OVERTONES.

8. COMMENT: WE WOULD BE INTERESTED IN KNOWING WHETHER THE CPI LINE IS THE COMMON ONE BEING PUT FORWARD BY SOVIET-BACKED PARTIES ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD OR WHETHER WHAT WE SEE IN INDIA IS A DEVIATION FROM THE NORM.

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